
HIS GRACE
The LORD PRIMATE'S
S E R M O N,

Preached on

The Twenty Third of *October*, 1751.

THE R. M. O.

Christ Church, Oxford

On Wednesday the 25th of October 1751

Wm. Lloyd



THE R. M. O.

The Twenty Third of October, 1751.

By GEORGE ...

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A
S E R M O N

PREACHED IN

Christ-Church, DUBLIN,

On *Wednesday* the 23d of OCTOBER, 1751,

Being the ANNIVERSARY of the

IRISH REBELLION,

Before His GRACE

LIONEL DUKE of DORSET,

Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of
IRELAND;

And the LORDS SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL in PARLI-
AMENT Assembled.

By ^{STONE}GEORGE Lord Archbishop of **ARMAGH.**

Published by His GRACE's Special Command, and by Order of
the HOUSE of LORDS.

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S E R M O N
P R E A C H E D I N

Die Jovis 24^o Die Octobris, 1751^o.

IT is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That the Thanks of this House shall be, and are hereby given to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of ARMAGH, for His Sermon preached before this House Yesterday at *Christ-Church*; and His Grace is hereby desired to Print and Publish the same: And that no Person do presume to Print the said Sermon, but such as His Grace shall appoint.

Hen. Baker Sterne, Cler' Parliamentor.

KING'S I. Book, xii. Chap. 26, 27, 28 Verses.

And Jeroboam said in his Heart, Now shall the Kingdom return to the House of David:

If this People go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill Me, and go again to Rehoboam King of Judah.

Whereupon the King took Counsel and made two Calves of Gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt.

THIS and the preceding Chapter contain the Account of a most remarkable Event. Solomon had succeeded to the united Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, and had reigned long over Them, in the Height of Glory and Prosperity: But in his latter Days having declined from the Service of God, He received a severe Threatening that the Kingdom should be taken from Him. About the same Time an extraordinary Revelati-
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on was made to *Jeroboam* one of the King's Servants concerning His future Advancement to the Throne and the Establishment of It in his House, on Condition of His Obedience to the Rules of Duty then prescrib'd to Him. But He giving more Attention to the Predictions than to the Commands of the Prophet seems early to have formed his Plan, and to have flattered Himself, that the Errors of His Master's Government might hasten the Execution of It.

As Ambition seldom lyes long concealed, These Designs of *Jeroboam* must have been by some means discovered by the King, who forced Him to leave His Kingdom, and fly to the Protection of a Foreign Prince. And God probably moved by the Repentance and Humiliation of the King Himself, but expressly on Account of the Merit of his great Predecessour was pleased to suspend His Judgments; so that *Solomon* died in Peace.

He was succeeded by a weak and a warm Prince. *Jeroboam* took this Time to return from his Exile in Order to watch the Opportunities which the growing Discontents and Animosities of the People were likely to furnish of throwing his Country into Confusion.

THE Contempt that *Rehoboam* shewed for those who wished the most sincerely for His Prosperity and understood His Interest best, soon disobliged and alarmed His Subjects. An avowed Plan of arbitrary and severe Government filled the Whole Nation with gloomy Apprehensions. They refused their Tribute to the King, and slew Those whom He employed to collect It. He was immediately involved in the greatest Difficulties; and *Jeroboam* had it now in His Power to accomplish His wicked

ed Purposes : He availed Himself of these real Grievances, and by inflaming the Minds of the most considerable Part of his Fellow Subjects He found Means to bring about a general Revolt of the Tribes (that of *Judah* only excepted, which remained in Its Allegiance) and to erect over Them a separate Kingdom for Himself.

As in this whole Transaction *Jeroboam* had been directed by no fixed or warrantable Principle and had no other Rule of Conduct than such as the Dictates of His ambition from Day to Day suggested, it may be supposed that He could have no Scruples in pursuing Any Measures for securing the Power He had acquired ; He thought that in a Government thus founded there could be little Stability, and that a People whom He had so effectually instructed in the Ways of Defection would upon every Occasion be Ready for another Change ; And as their returning into the Old Channel of Their Duty might the most naturally be apprehended, His First Care was to stop that Passage, and to make such a Disunion amongst the Tribes, as should leave no Way Open to a Reconciliation. For *said He in his Heart, Now shall the Kingdom return to the House of David :*

If this People go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, Then shall the Heart of this People turn again unto Their Lord, even unto Rehoboam King of Judah, and they shall kill Me, and go again to Rehoboam King of Judah.

Whereupon the King took Counsel and made two Calves of Gold, and said unto them, It is too much for You to go up to Jerusalem ; Behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the Land of Ægypt.

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ALTHOUGH Superstition and Idolatry had been the Rock upon which the *Jewish* Nation had ever split, by which They had frequently brought upon Themselves the worst Calamities; Although This was expressly the Cause of the Judgments denounced upon the Family of His Master, Yet He was weak enough to give into this Snare; to persuade His People to adopt, and as appears by the Sequel of their History, to persevere in All the foolish profane Notions and Practices of their Neighbours, in Order only to keep them a Distinct People, and to create in Them a Horror and Aversion for Their Brethren: Hitherto Their Brethren in Religion, as well as Blood. He succeeded partly in His Design: He kept alive the Divisions and Animosities of the Tribes of *Israel*, But He, His House and Successors received a full Punishment for their fond and Blind Attachment to this wicked Policy.

I have not chosen this Passage of Scripture to speak upon, with a View of drawing an exact Parallel to the Solemnity of this Day, which I am sensible It will not in all its Circumstances bear; But when I shall have made such Reflections as seem naturally to arise from the History, as It has been already stated, I believe They will be found Extreamly applicable to the Transaction We are now met to commemorate. Reflections which have this great Advantage with Respect to Our present Situation, that as the Designs of Those *Jeroboams* which were so Providentially defeated as on This Day, have not Yet taken Place, We may awaken Our Attention, and be always watchful to guard against the first Approaches of the like Calamities.

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THE Reflections which arise from this Passage of History are few but of great Importance.

I SHALL first mention the great Lengths that ambitious Men will go to serve their Purposes.

MAN by Virtue of his Nature and Principles, that is, by the Principles of God's Creation in Him is fitted to Acts of Reason and Understanding; and his Moral Character must depend upon the proper Government of those Propensions and Inclinations by which the Powers and Faculties of his Nature are directed: Thus Ambition confined to good and worthy Purposes, and pursued in a steady uniform Course of Right Actions is one of the noblest Affections of the Mind: and has so far the Advantage over other Moral Habits, as it tends to diffuse Virtue more largely through the World, and animates Men with greater Vigour to the Exercise of those good Qualities which procure Honour and Happiness to them Here, and form their Hearts and Minds for a greater Part which shall be hereafter assigned to them, in a purer and more exalted State of Existence.

It cannot therefore be denied that there is such a Thing as laudable Ambition. Every generous Effort to act in a becoming and useful Manner supposes it. But circumstanced as Human Nature is, so liable to Temptation, so exposed to Uncertainty with respect to the Events and Issues of Our Undertakings, and so prone to Error in our Judgements of Persons, Characters, and Situations a little removed from us, It may be laid down almost as a universal Maxim, That They who are animated only with a commendable Desire of approving Themselves to Men, or to their own Consciences, who have a well grounded Ambition

Ambition and aim at real Excellence, will generally confine their Views to the Sphere in which Providence has placed them.

THEY will count it the greatest Glory to act with Decency and Propriety the Part allotted to them. They will be unwilling to venture on untried Characters, and by a petulant Temerity hazard the Reputation they have hitherto enjoyed. They will from the Interest they take in the Common Welfare, be more concerned for the general Success, than solicitous about the Figure or Rank they may appear in; and thus enjoy the purest Gratifications this Desire can afford, without the peculiar Anxiety which must ever accompany It in Excess.

IF ever this Observation holds It must be in our Conduct to the Publick; The Peace and Tranquillity of Society is the great Object which all good Men have in View: That every Member and Citizen, all Ranks and Orders of Men may enjoy their respective Rights, the Fruits of their Industry, and the Privileges of their Consciences. And certainly in this just View of Things, virtuous Ambition under the Government of Reason and Religion will teach us to be contented within our Proper Spheres, and to think ourselves amply gratified with the Praise of having contributed Our Share to the Publick Good, and of having used no indirect Means to advance ourselves to higher Degrees of Honour or Influence. What must be the Condition of a Society whose Members are actuated by this and by no other Ambition?

BUT the better that this or any other Affection is in its Constitution and Integrity, It becomes the worse in its Degeneracy

Degeneracy and Depravation. And Ambition, when once it is suffered to grow so strong as to know no Controul, and to break those invariable Laws which the God of Truth and Order has laid down, is the most turbulent of all Passions and the most inconvenient and dangerous to Society. For other evil Habits do frequently affect no more than the Person Himself who is a Prey to them: Or at least their bad Influence is confined within a small Circle. Sensual Indulgencies must have their Bounds, and the very Disrelish or even the Incapacity of Sinning shall sometimes shew the Way to Repentance. But Ambition has no such natural Limits: Its Desires and Appetites gather Strength from Gratification: And its bad Effects are not confined to single Persons, nor even to Families or Neighbourhoods, but Communities Governments and whole Nations are involved in the Mischiefs it produces. The Man in whose Mind this Passion is become predominant must be driven about in a continual Storm without any Guidance of Reason or Restraint from Principle. For when by any Violation of Duty the Lines of Truth are passed, it is no longer in his Power to stop; He is at first eager and active, and pursues his Point with Alacrity, till He meets some Obstacle in his Way: but being once checked in his Progress, his Passions like Humours wanting Vent grow full of Venom and Malignity. He looks on Men and things with an evil Eye; delights in publick Miscarriages; promotes popular Jealousies; and endeavours to distress the People whom He still hopes to rule, and with whom His Interests are in all Events connected. He will watch all Turns and Occasions to draw Men aside from their religious and political Duty, and if proper Materials should not be at Hand, and Recourse must

be had to Deceptions, He will labour to confound the Understandings of the Vulgar, by fixing the most detested Appellations to the best of Things, and the best and most plausible Names to the very worst. It would be a tedious and almost endless Work to bring all the Instances which History could furnish to verify this Observation. Every State hath abounded with Examples; but none can be more apposite, than the very Case of *Jeroboam* which has given Rise to these Reflections. He is introduced under a good Character; He was employed and trusted by his Master; and in the Beginning of his Life appears to have deserved well. But no sooner did He entertain Hopes of more immediate Advancement than He had a Right to from the Prophet's Prediction, but we find His Temper totally changed. It is probable that *Solomon's* Jealousy together with a prudent Precaution against an Ambition *Jeroboam* could no longer dissemble, obliged Him to fly. But He fled to a Nation remarkable for its Hatred to the Religion and Interests of His Country; and when the first Opportunity offered, He came, not to wait with Patience for the Accomplishment of God's Purpose; not to approve Himself a dutiful Subject to his new Sovereign, to remove former Jealousies, and allay the Distempers of the Country, but launched at the first Stroke into the wide Sea of Rebellion. Can there be a stronger Proof of the irresistible Force of this Passion, than that a Man who had received the Promise of a Kingdom should not be able to acquiesce under such Dispensations of Providence; but should set Himself to anticipate the Purpose of God, should disunite the People, and make them waste their Strength in mutual Struggles; should even debauch their Principles in Order to perpetuate Dissensions amongst them,

them, and contrary not only to the exprefs Laws of His Religion, but to all Maxims of Policy sacrifice the Glory and Happiness of the Kingdom He was to possess.

THE Second Observation I shall make will be upon the Folly of such ambitious Designs and Attempts. The Wickedness of them might perhaps more easily be shewn, but there might then be required some farther Arguments sufficiently to deter Men from those vain and unjustifiable Pursuits. Successful Wickedness has never been without its Advocates : And They who have raised and for a Time established Themselves by the most iniquitous Means have generally been recorded as great and illustrious Names. Credit is given to them for the Boldness and Difficulty of their Undertaking, but the Unfairness or Immorality of their Conduct, when once the ill Consequences are removed, are seldom brought to Account. But to Wickedness and bad Success no specious Colouring can be given ; and when they are seen in one View, there is little Danger of their being received or even proposed as Examples for Imitation. And whosoever has Considered the Histories of past Times with due Attention must observe, that of all those Men who by Violence or Intrigue have unsettled the Foundations of Governments, disturbed the Peace of Societies, and thrown Countries into Confusion, very few have been able to save themselves from perishing amongst the Ruins they have occasioned. For when once a People is worked up to a Resentment of imaginary Grievances, and every one is taught to believe He may carve out his own Method of Redress ; when the true genuine Principle of Liberty has been debauched into an Impatience of every Legal Restraint, *And* Wisdom
ii. chap.
v. 11. *every Man's Strength becomes the Law of his Justice ; upon*
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the first Disappointment in the vain Hopes with which they have been amused, and upon the least Appearance of Slackness or Inconsistency in their Leaders, they are sure to turn their Rage upon them, and make them perhaps the earliest, but certainly the most hated Victims of their ungovernable Fury. So little Encouragement is there for Men to trust their Steps in these uneven Paths: And so great a Difference will there always be, both in their Ways and Ends, between an active well regulated Zeal to support or mend a Constitution, and a forward restless Importunity to break in upon it; between the true sober Spirit of publick Liberty, and those evil Spirits which have so often assumed that Name. For I hope I cannot be understood to mean, that when a Form of Government is established, there is no Right to complain of the bad Administration of it, nor from strong and apparent Necessity even to change it in the most Material Parts: I know not any divine Law which does, and certainly no human Law can bind Men to submit to unconstitutional Government, to Tyranny and Oppression, when they have the proper Means of Resistance in their Hands. But if Men only pretend publick Spirit, and private Interest lyes lurking at the Bottom, they may be assured that the Mask will at last be taken off and discover their Deformity: That the Issues of their Undertakings will be traced up to the Sources from which they are derived; and the Mischiefs they have been preparing for others will in the end fall heavily upon their own Heads. As it happened in the Case of *Jeroboam*, and in the Misfortunes entailed upon his House.

By the Prophet's Declaration the Idolatry of *Solomon* was the immediate Cause of God's wrath; of the Purpose
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to deprive his House of so considerable a Part of their Dominions. The Promise to *Jeroboam* was, that if He would adhere to the same Measures *David* had followed, God would build him as sure a House as he had built for *David*, and that he would give *Israel* unto Him : But He preferred his own Conceits to the sober Counsels of the Prophet : and practicing the same Impieties through Cunning and Policy, which his Predecessors seem rather to have fallen into from real Weakness and Superstition, He drew still heavier Judgements upon Himself ; so that He and his whole Posterity were soon cut off from the Face of the Earth ; and His Name only remained for a Memorial of the Miseries he had brought upon his Country.

FROM this a third Observation will of Course arise upon the Extream Folly of those who suffer Themselves to be deluded by the Ambition of Others, and sacrificed as they must ever be to the Effects of it.

IF all Men who are forward to assert their Right of thinking and judging for themselves either in Religious or Civil Matters would take the Pains, (and some Pains It always require) to examine the Principles of the Religion, and the Grounds upon which the Government of their Country stands, The Exercise of this glorious Privelege could then create no Disturbance, nor be the just Occasion of Offence. If these Enquiries were only in the Hands of sober modest and ingenuous Men, whatsoever their Opinions might be upon particular Points, They would always promote Obedience to the Laws from which they received Protection, and even a Compliance with innocent Customs, which in their retired Judgments They might not altogether approve.

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BUT very unhappy must be the State of that Society where Subjects of nice Distinction, and Controversies wherein the publick Weal and Quiet are concerned are daily submitted to the hazardous Trial of popular Conflict, and where received Opinions the Result of deliberate Wisdom and Experience are made to depend upon the uncertain Event of such tumultuary Disputations. The People by this are drawn from the Duties which are proper and pertinent to Them, and meddle with things which suit not with their Condition their Capacity or Vocation: Allured by flattering and specious Appearances They desert the Stations which the Providence of God has assigned to Them, and from an habitual Disobedience to the Laws proceed to avowed Contempt of all Order and Decency; Every useful or necessary Restraint is resented as an Encroachment upon Liberty; All Ranks and Degrees of Men are confounded together; Age, Dignity, Experience, Gravity and Honours, those respectable and ornamental Fences of Society, are leveled to the Ground and trampled upon; *The People are oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour, the Child behaveth Himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honourable.* The Voice of Magistracy is no longer attended to: the Nerves and Sinews of Government are relaxed; the growing Wealth of such a People serves only as Fuel to the unnatural Flame that is kindled amongst them; *Violence and Strife are in the City, Wickedness is in the midst thereof: Deceit and Guile depart not from her Streets.* The End of them will be that if no greater Power is at Hand to devour them, They will be let loose upon One Another and execute God's Vengeance upon Themselves. Such must be the Condition of every People who are taught (and these Lessons

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We are all too apt to learn) that every wanton Desire of Change is to be gratified; that to impair the Reputation of Superiors is an Essential Part of Freedom; and that publick Authority may be set at nought not only with Impunity but with Applause. Such I say will be the Condition of every People who are deceived by the thin Disguises which Arrogance and Ambition are forced to assume in Order to mislead their Followers. Such was the Condition which Those deluded People of *Israel* fell into in Consequence of their Defection to *Jeroboam*, whom they had considered as their best Friend, their Guardian and Deliverer. The Vengeance denounced upon them was thus: *For the Lord shall smite Israel as a Reed is shaken by the Water, and He shall root up Israel out of this good Land, which He gave to their Fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the River, because They have made Groves, provoking the Lord to Anger.* This is a short but exact History of their subsequent State. Their own wanton Separation of themselves from the Root of their Government, seems in the natural Course of things to have opened the Way to their Captivity, and to have made them an easy Prey to that powerful Empire which was always watching for their Destruction, and by the Help of their internal Divisions now found Means to effect It.

SUCH was also the Condition of that infatuated People whose Folly and Wickedness we cannot but remember, as often as we are called upon to commemorate the signal Deliverance wrought by the Hand of God for the Protestants of this Nation, and to return Thanks for his great and good Providence in preserving and continuing to us that pure Religion and Government, both of which They hoped utterly to extirpate; meditating not more a Religious than a Civil Revolt.

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1 Kings
chap. xiv.
v. 15.

I SHALL therefore now proceed (though the Circumstances of the History cannot be supposed exactly to agree) to apply these Reflections to the Occasion of this Day's Solemnity.

It is first to be observed, that at the Time of the breaking out of this Rebellion These Nations were united in one common Interest. By the Laws which had been made from Time to Time before that fatal Period, and which had just then received their final Completion, all Civil Distinctions were taken away, their Civil Interests were become entirely the same. It has been ignorantly and unfairly suggested that the State of *England* never truly endeavoured nor sincerely intended the Civilizing of this Realm, but thought it more expedient that It should continue in the same bad State in which they found it. Had they done so, They were justly answerable for all the Consequences of such weak and wicked Policy. But the Laws which are now remaining, and may be referred to, are a standing Evidence that this Imputation is groundless. The *Irish* had lived like Slaves under the Scourge of their own little Tyrants; scarcely knowing at any Time Who was the next Day to be the Object, much less what were to be the Terms of their Allegiance: Since these Kings were not appointed by any solemn Ordinance, did not claim by Right of Inheritance, or any other regular or legal Method of Succession; But every Man got his Kingdom by Force and Arms, and could never wonder when a stronger than Him came and usurped Dominion over Him. It is unnecessary to describe what the Condition of the Subjects of such Monarchs must have been. But almost as soon as a Government could be well framed, and Legislation have a free Course, the People were relieved from this slavish Subjection:

Act 13.
James I.
chap. v.
11. Char.
I. chap. vi.

Acts

Acts of Oblivion were published for all past Offences against the Crown, and for all particular Trespases; and all the Subjects of this Realm, (many of whom before had no Place to fly to either for Defence or Justice) were now without Difference or Distinction taken into the King's immediate Protection. And they seemed fully sensible of the Benefits accruing to them from such a Change. The Laws also which had never before penetrated into the remote Parts of the Kingdom had now begun to make their Progress, and the lower Ranks of Men especially soon perceived and relished this equal and impartial Protection. As the Civil Ties of the two Kingdoms were thus made the same, and as by Marriages, by a more free Communication of Honours and Favours than had been known before, and by many other Circumstances their Interests seemed to have become inseparable; It might reasonably have been expected that their Affections also should have grown together, and that the Peace, Liberty, Prosperity and Happiness of this Kingdom should have been acknowledged visibly and entirely to depend upon its continuing united to *England*.

It may be said that in Point of Religion also Their Interests were the same. The *Irish* had suffered equally with the People of *England* by the Oppressions of the Church of *Rome*. If they were disposed to complain of Transactions of past Times, (which no Nation has a Right to do after so long a Settlement) They might remember that they were given to *England* by a Decree of the Pope. A just Punishment for having forfeited the glorious Distinction of being the last Western Nation which stood out against the See of *Rome*, and refused to own its Supremacy: which They at last did, not compelled and worried into it as the *British* Nation was,

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but by their own free Consent before the *English* came amongst them. Since that Time they had paid in full Proportion their Share of Tribute, had been constantly drained of their Substance, and sacrificed to the Ambition and Avarice of the Popish Clergy. But when the great Work of the Reformation was begun in *England*, all the temporal Advantages of It were communicated and secured to this Kingdom; the Oppressions of the Pope were taken away, and His Authority abolished. The Bulk of the People it is True remained in their old Errors and Superstitions; to which the Difference of Language, the Want of Churches, and of proper Settlements for Ministers must in a great Degree have contributed: But it appears, that Other Causes of a very different Nature may be assigned for it; Nothing can, I think, be more clear than that this Obstinacy in adhering to the Church of *Rome* was cunningly fomented by the wicked Contrivers of this execrable Rebellion, in order to serve their own ambitious Purposes. The People might perhaps have retained some Fondness for the Worship of their Fathers; But the State of those Times, and the Conduct of the chief Actors furnish abundant Proof, that Religion was rather used as a Cloak to conceal their other Designs. The Policy was thus far exactly the same with *Jeroboam's*: Zeal for their Religion (howsoever false even that Plea would appear) could not be their principal Motive; for Popery was not at that Time under such severe Discountenance (at least not from the Court of *England*) as to give them any extraordinary Alarm. But their Aversion was set against the *English* Government; and as it might have been difficult to propagate this Aversion in direct Terms amongst a People who every Day felt the good Effects of this Government, and were increasing in Strength and Substance under its Influence;

fluence; the Standard of Religion was to be erected: And as Religious Differences are always the most effectual Means of Division, and as it is the peculiar Attribute of the Popish Religion to make its Professors believe against the Evidence of their Senses, and act against the natural Dictates of their Conscience: This was declared to be the principal Point in View: and the poor deluded People were told that the great End intended was the Advancement of the Catholick Cause. But in those Places where real Business was transacted, a different Face of things will appear, and in the most authentick Accounts, by which the Transactions of those Times are recorded, the true purposes of this Rebellion stand revealed. When the chief Conductors of It began to scatter their Poison by infusing Jealousies into the Minds of the People under plausible Pretences of Zeal for their Country; The Distractions in *England*, the Distresses of the King there, the little Confidence He placed in the Affections of His Protestant Subjects, and Their seeming to have still less in Him, opened a Scene in which these Actors might reasonably hope to appear with Advantage. Here an Opportunity presented itself, which the Projectors of this Rebellion had long waited for, and under the Favour of it, Their Work of Darkness, hitherto confined perhaps to Persons of particular Confidence, was now to be communicated to the Body of the People and by their Means to be ripened for immediate Execution. Every Instrument was employed for this Purpose; every Method taken to inflame the People, and work them up to an eager Disposition to Rebellion. The Chief Agents employed in this Business were the Popish Lawyers and the Romish Clergy. The Lawyers by the Exercise of their Profession had acquired great Reputation and Trust; upon the Strength of which

which they now stood up as Vindicators of the Liberty of the Subject, which they pretended with incredible Boldness and Vehemence to have been violated fundamentally. From such a general Charge, they descended to particular Complaints, and with all possible Acrimony swelled every little Subject of Jealousy, every inconsiderable Mismanagement into a National Grievance. Their virulent Speeches being received with Applause, They did not Stop at fruitless Lamentations over the pretended Misery of their Countrymen, but went on to their principal Design, which was to point out the Remedy, and by false Expositions of the Law to shew how safely they might have recourse to it. The Severity of the Law in Cases of Sedition and Treason was softened and explained away, and in its stead Maxims inculcated promising Protection and Impunity to the most violent Attempts that could be made against the Civil and Religious Establishment. All these Overtures to Rebellion were proposed without Palliation or Reserve; They were not whispered about in secret Cabals, but openly and daringly advanced in the great Council of the Nation.

THE Romish Clergy with more Secrecy and Silence but equal Venom, exerted their pernicious Influence over the Consciences of those of their Communion. The Extirpation of Hereticks and the Establishment of the true Catholick Faith by all possible Means was proposed as the glorious Cause in which they ought to rise. Their Indignation was raised, and their Fears alarmed with false Relations of Sufferings endured by the Catholicks of *England*, and which they were in their Turns to undergo: They were even taught to apprehend immediate Danger of a Massacre in which they were to be Sufferers, whilst they were preparing their Minds
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to bear the Thoughts of one in which they were intended to be the Actors. It is not much to be wondered at, That a People who were so sunk in Ignorance, and so cruelly deceived by the Men on whom they depended for Information in their Civil and Religious Interests, should be so deeply affected by the Poison infused into them, as to be ready to devote themselves to any the most flagitious Enterprize that could be proposed. The Barbarities exercised by them upon the Protestants, their horrid and unexampled Cruelties; and the most providential Discovery of the Design to have been executed as on this Day for the utter Extirpation of every Protestant Name in this Kingdom are all so well known amongst us, and have left such lasting Impressions of Horror upon our Minds, that a circumstantial Relation of them may here be dispensed with.

I SHALL better pursue my present Purpose by observing that these Rebel Leaders seeing the King embroiled, as He was, with his People of *England*, began to entertain Hopes of detaching Him entirely from the Protestant Cause; and sent Propositions to Him, (how they were received by Him does not belong to this Subject) which besides some Offers of particular Service supposed to be conveyed with them, contained their full Demands for the Tranquillity, as they expressed it, and Settlement of this Kingdom. These Propositions are extant, and are the best Evidence as it is from their own Mouths, of the Grounds of their pretended Grievances, and their Plan of Reformation. They did not indeed omit to mention the Establishment of the Popish Religion; They could not hope without It to have drawn on an ignorant superstitious People to sacrifice Themselves in their Cause. But the Points chiefly insisted

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on plainly shew, That Religion lay only on the Surface of their Remonstrance, and the inward Frame and Substance of it contained a Scheme for the most arbitrary Dominion to be resumed and again exercised by Them, over their Fellow Subjects. For if they had been able either by Violence or Skill, (and both ways were tried by them) to have carried this Plan into Execution; All those wholesome Laws from which this Kingdom derives its present Quiet and Happiness were to have been cancelled: The Protestant Religion and Government would not only have been rooted out; but the poor Native *Irish* (whose Cause They pretended to assert) must have returned into their former Subjections, till some new Deliverance should have been wrought for them; and must have lain down under the same Oppressions and Slavery from which they had once been saved, and from which They still continue free; though they seem to understand not what belongs to their Peace.

As this wicked Undertaking was therefore the Effect of Cunning and Ambition; and as the Leaders of It, though encouraged and supported by foreign Princes, had not even a specious Cause for their Defection, They did not meet with the same temporary Success with *Jeroboam*; But They and their unhappy Posterity have this in common with Him, that They remain to this Day a memorable Example of the Folly of unprovoked Rebellion, and of the dreadful Consequences that attend It.

If the foregoing Observations have any Truth or Weight, You need not be reminded, of what Consequence it is to cultivate the Protestant Religion, not only as the most pure and acceptable to God, but as It is Friendly in general to the Rights of Mankind; and as Experience must by this
Time

Time have taught us, that this Nation's Political Prosperity has ever risen or fallen in Proportion as It has prevailed. As long as a great Part of the People remain in their blind Attachment to Popery, They will always be liable to the Practices of bad Men and (however Prudence or Fear may generally restrain Them) may be prevailed upon to devote Themselves even to Destruction in Its Support: Nor can we ever safely count upon their Affection to the Government, Until They shall all go up to do Sacrifice in the House of the Lord at Jerusalem; and forsake their Calves of Gold, before which all Social Principles, all Duties of Allegiance, and every Moral Obligation is made to bow. It is therefore Our immediate Concern to guard against the Increase of so pernicious a Religion.

THE Protestants of this Kingdom have no doubt a sufficient Dread and Abhorrence of Popery; but it is well, if many of them do not think that in this is comprehended the Whole of their Religious Duty. We know also from the Histories of all Churches, that the Power of Godliness alone without the Form of It has never been sufficient for National Purposes; and we see but too plainly from the Influence which the Forms of Popery have upon Its Followers, that Error so supported will at least maintain its Ground: So that we can never hope to remove these superstitious Impressions of Religion, but by substituting Rational Ones in their Place. We see also that of the principal Families in the Kingdom almost all are reformed; That the whole Landed Property is in a Manner in the Hands of Protestants; and are justly astonished that the lower People are so slow in following them. But cannot this be too well accounted for? when there appears such an Indifference in their Superiors

rions to all Religious Institution; when the Places of Publick Worship are so little frequented by Persons of Rank, and the slightest Excuses which would not keep them from any common Diversion, will yet be sufficient to call them off from their stated Duty to God; Must not their Servants and Dependants in the Country be too apt to give Credit to those who shall tell them, that this Religion has no real Efficacy, and is only professed upon Motives of Political Conveniency? The Importance of this Branch of Duty is not properly attended to, and the Neglect of It I am perswaded is the principal Cause which now retards the Progress of that Religion, for which We are all so forward in Words to express our Zeal. Without a Change of Conduct in this and some other Particulars, All Laws for preventing the Growth of Popery are but Mockeries, and were this Reformation effected, might be unnecessary.

IN the next and last Place I must on this Occasion observe of what Consequence It is that we preserve entire that Union and Affection, which now happily subsist between Us and our Fellow Subjects of *England*: The Shadow of a Separate Interest long since ceased: The present Inhabitants of this Kingdom are almost all descended from *English* Families, and many of them doubtless under strict Ties from the Commands of their Ancestors to remain firmly attached to that Interest from which the whole Body of Protestants must in any Extremity expect Support. This Support has been fully experienced, as this Nation has been Twice visibly saved by it from imminent Destruction. Neither have They dealt with Us according to *Jeroboam's* wicked Policy, but have remarkably encouraged every Design for uniting Us in one Religious as well as Political Interest, the only Way

Way of making Us a considerable People; and the strongest Proof that can be given, that they entertain no Jealousies of our Increase in Strength or Affluence. The Schools raised upon a Royal Foundation have been in a very great Measure fed and as yet kept in being by the voluntary Contributions of the People of *England*: the Continuance of which will probably depend upon the Zeal We ourselves shall now shew in maintaining that useful Work.

SOCIETIES for Improvement in Tillage and Manufactures are authorized by Royal Charters, and Acts of Parliament, which besides the immediate Uses of them have had another happy Effect, that by this mutual friendly Intercourse there is now a more cordial Affection and Confidence between the Protestants of these two Kingdoms than has been known in any former Age.

THIS present happy Situation, the Result of dear Experience, (but the more likely for that reason to continue) and the Subject of our warmest Gratitude to God on this Day can never be expected to be altered by *England*, which has so long and so steadily pursued the same Measures. Nor can there be any Danger of its being forfeited Here by a People whose Eyes appear to be so thoroughly opened, and whose peculiar Error or rather Misfortune it was to continue too inflexibly in what They thought their Duty. Nothing can ever affect it, but partial and ambitious Schemes void of a true Knowledge of the Constitution, or of any real Publick Spirit. Free States have less to fear from the Attacks of open Enemies, than from Distempers bred within Themselves: They are generally led Astray by grasping at Airy Forms of Liberty, and impracticable Visions of irrational unconstitutional Independancy: It may be that Nations differently cir-

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cumstanced from Us, have through Struggles and Convulsions fallen into Decay, and emerged again in more eligible Forms of Religion and Government; But such is Our Situation, that we can make no Exchange but for Popery and Arbitrary Power: Every thing therefore that tends to Division amongst Us, must in the End promote that Cause; and Whosoever by fond Preferences on any Side keeps alive false and idle Distinctions understands the Interests of either Country very imperfectly, or is secretly an Enemy to Both.

Isai. Ch.
11. Ver.
13.

BUT this, blessed be God, is not at present to be apprehended. Should It ever hereafter be suspected; what greater Preservative can there be against the Influence of such Designs than the Consideration of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel* under all the dismal Consequences of their Separation? This must be an everlasting Memorial to Us, that We should admit no Jealousies; no Opposition of Interest: *That Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and that Judah shall not vex Ephraim.* But we have an additional Security, Our Political Situation is very different from that in which *Solomon* left his People: The Constitution settled by Our *David*, by that great Prince who delivered these Nations from Slavery and Popery is still happily preserved and faithfully administered. We have not a *Rehoboam* reigning over Us, but a Prince who listens to and is guided by His Natural Council:—A Prince who is more deeply rooted in the Affections and Confidence of his Subjects, than any *British* Monarch ever was; and for the Continuance of whose precious Life Prayers and Intercessions are daily offered up to God by every Friend to his Country, with the same Sincerity and Fervency, that We pray for our private Benefactors. With these Guards this Constitution will ever retain such a Strength and Vigour within itself, as will
repell

repell all Foreign Attacks; And We may with Reason hope, that the Protection of the Almighty will defend the present Administration which does, and every succeeding Administration which shall preserve impartially to all Orders of Men and to each particular Member of Society, their several respective Natural and Legal Rights, and by steady Uprightness remove all Occasion of Murmur and Discontent.

THESE strong Ties of Duty and Affection to the present Government appear to have their full Force in this Nation, which is distinguished, and seems ambitious of the Glory of continuing distinguished by Its Loyalty to the King, and by Its Attachment to the Constitution. And whilst we are returning Thanks to the divine Goodness for all these Blessings, let us also beg that a true Sense of Them, and a grateful Disposition may by his Grace be nourished in our Hearts, to preserve Us even from the Apprehension of those Evils from which We were saved on this Day.

I HAVE now endeavoured to search the true Grounds and Principles of this Rebellion. The Time allotted to these Discourses would not permit me to do more than point out the several Considerations to You: But from my most sincere and earnest Wishes for the lasting Peace and Prosperity of this Country, I cannot but exhort You to make These things sometimes the Subjects of your Enquiry: That the Interests of this Valuable Kingdom may be seen in their full and just Light; That They may never be exposed to the unsteady Breath of Popular Air, but stand established in Reason and in Truth. A frequent and faithful Representation of past Misfortunes is the best human Security against future Misconduct. We can never be sincerely thankful to God for Deliverances of which we know not the Value;
nor

Deut. Ch. 6. Ver. 6. 7. nor can any Man be a firm Friend to a Constitution which He does not understand. *These things therefore shall be in thine Heart; and Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy Children, and shalt talk of them when Thou sittest in thine House, and when Thou walkest by the Way, and when Thou liest down, and when Thou risest up.*

ALTHOUGH from our present Situation It may not be necessary, Yet from the Occasion and Tendency of this Discourse It will not be improper to conclude with these Words of Scripture.

1st Cor. 1st Ch. 10 Ver. Now I beseech You Brethren, by the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that Ye all speak the same Thing, and that there be no Divisions among You; but that Ye be perfectly joined together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgement.

Psal. 128. Ver. 5. That the Lord may bless You out of Sion and that Ye may see the Good of Jerusalem, all the Days of your Life.

Psal. 144. Ver. 11. That Ye may be delivered from the Hand of strange Children whose Mouth talketh of Vanity, and whose right Hand is a right Hand of Iniquity.

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THE END.